

## The Interplay of Religion and Politics: A Theoretical Perspective

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### Abstract

*The presence and significance of religion and religious beliefs in public affairs cannot be ignored. Almost every day we come across, through media, the instances which demonstrate that various individuals, groups and institutions which hold the religious realm have an enduring and significant relevance in political sphere. Whether it is the legislative process in a particular country; political violence in a certain society; or the voting behavior of a specific group or community, religion and religious beliefs evidently play an essential role in shaping and molding these socio-political attitudes.*

**Keywords:** Religion, Politics, Link between Religion and Politics, Dynamic nature of relationship between Religion and Politics

### Introduction:

Religion and politics have an irrefutable and important but a complex and complicated interaction with each other.<sup>1</sup> Whether these are the three main levels of politics: local, national and international; whether it involves the common people, promoters of a certain cause, or the foremost leadership; whether it deals with legislatures, interest groups, or political parties and political philosophies; whether it is the well-off democratic world, the socialist world, or the poor developing world, religion and politics are related. It is, therefore, assumed that the ideas of secularism and modernism have not eliminated the role of religion in politics or vice versa.<sup>2</sup> Although notable changes have occurred in their mutual relationship over the past decades, but these changes, by any means, have not broken this relationship.

In order to better understand their relationship it is imperative to set out some general thoughts. In this regard, we should first turn to some relevant definitional issues, because clear understanding is always preceded by clear definition.

### The Main Components, Politics:

The question 'what is politics' seems simple but it is difficult to answer this question in a most precise manner. In order to acknowledge the different elements that make up the relationship between politics and religion, I start with one encyclopedia's definition: "a process whereby a group of people, whose opinions and interests are initially divergent, reach collective decisions which are generally regarded as binding on the group, and enforced as common policy."<sup>3</sup> Now some important elements can be derived from this definition to find out what the sphere of 'politics or political' is that 'religion' might involve.

The above cited definition describes 'politics' as a process, a set of activities that form a particular group's shared way of life; by which that group exercises the power i.e. the function of those activities is to make collective decisions. This is important to focus on the correlation which might exist between the religious life of the group and those activities.

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These 'groups' might be ranging from family units to the entire human race, because all the levels of groups have a corporate life which contain individuals with different opinions and interests with varying degree. All types of groups undergo a formal or informal 'political process' while making collective decisions.

It is of interest to analyze how 'religion' influences the decision-making process of a family or of a community or any other group of smaller or greater level/scale. Among these groups is a group which is defined by religious membership – religious group. These groups also take collective decisions, which is a political process. Studies show that this internal political activity held in a religious group affects the manner of external dealings in a secular political world and vice versa. However, this relationship between religion and politics is a complex one.<sup>4</sup>

Usually the process 'politics' is reserved for greater or larger groups which occupy a local, regional or national territory. Various studies have been conducted to focus on the role of religion at each of the abovementioned levels. There are studies and reports of how religion overlaps the political processes of a village, town or a community, which can be termed as 'communal politics'.<sup>5</sup> These researches also include the case studies of regions or provinces and even more common studies are of countries or nations.

Apart from the feature of collectivity, another main point in the definition of politics is the process of decision –making. It involves transforming the divergent opinions and interests of people into points of convergence through a system of conflict resolution. How this purpose is achieved varies from case to case considerably. These conflict resolution mechanisms may include act of violence and coercion, the use of customs and traditions in different cases, and the conscious effort of devising a constitution or a written contract/agreement which clearly lays down the formula of how the power is exercised.

The formal institutions central to this process form 'the state' by which people are controlled and their lives are regulated.<sup>6</sup> The state includes various agencies such as government (comprising executive, legislature and judiciary) and civil service which is the administrative apparatus of the state. In order to enforce its decisions, the state also incorporates the agencies like police, military and paramilitary forces which comprise the coercive apparatus of the state. All these institutions are central to the political process in a state and, therefore, the relationship between these institutions and religion gains vital importance and needs to be scrutinized closely. Constitutional and legal studies have been conducted, in developed and developing countries, to view the relationship between these institutions and religion. Moreover this focus of study also raises the issue of the role of religion in interpretations of law. In this regard, in many Muslim countries the role or contribution of religion to the understandings of law is very much evident.

Similarly some other important state institutions also deal with religious realm either directly or indirectly. For example legislators, who run the business of legislature and enact laws for the state, may have their religious motivations and they may treat a variety of issues that relate to religious sphere, in a specific manner. Religion has a strong impact on law-making process of country, especially the laws relating family issues, capital punishments, property laws, etc. The same is the case with other agencies and institutions within the state apparatus such as the political executive or the government headed by either prime minister or president and other ministers. They may also have religious motivations while executing their authority directly or indirectly.<sup>7</sup>

However, this is not only the state or the institutions which exercise power and authority that politics is all about. In fact there are other important agencies and institutions outside the state apparatus that seek to influence the decision making process and the public policy. Sometimes these agencies even overshadow the formally designated official institutions. This factor broadens the scope of the correlation of politics and religion, and makes this relationship between the two more complicated. This is the reason that political scientists tend to deliberate on 'political system' and do not only focus on the 'state'. For example one of the leading political scientists of the 20<sup>th</sup> century David Easton speaks of a number of 'input' factors and forces that not only generate demands but also influence the decision-making and implementation. There are three main elements which play important role in this regard: political parties, interest groups, and common citizens.<sup>8</sup>

Numerous studies have been conducted on the relationship between political parties and religion. These studies include religious outlook of the party office-bearers and leaders, religious disposition of the parties' manifestoes and programs, and religious composition of their mass support.<sup>9</sup>

Interest groups or pressure groups have also been the subject to research and inquiry in this connection. Generally, pressure groups are defined as the formal or informal structures, in a political system, which seek to influence the decision-making process and public policy without any attempt to become themselves the political office-holders in the state, while political parties seek to come into power directly. Religious groups (as pressure groups) in a political system play an active role by promoting their specific views regarding a particular issue of public policy. They can do this by lobbying and influencing the legislators and legislative process, they may also get into contact with the ministers and executive, or even they go to the judiciary and courts in favor or against a particular issue. They also sometimes make connections with some political parties, and make alliances with other interest groups with whom their interest converge. They may also mobilize masses and start religio-political movements and influence public opinion through media.<sup>10</sup>

Mass of citizens is at the grass roots of the edifice of power. A rich pattern of interconnection exists between its 'political' and 'religious' behavior. In this regard the most important act on the part of mass populace is their voting behavior. Voting, in competitive systems, is the most important means by which common citizens play their role in the game of power. This particular phenomenon highlights many important issues regarding the relationship between religion and politics. For example, it is noteworthy that to what extent their decision or voting behavior is influenced by religious considerations. Although in most of the cases religion may not play an overt role in this regard, but still it plays a passive role in molding public opinion and voting behavior along with other consideration i.e. economic, ethnic, racial, lineage, etc. in many countries. All the three abovementioned elements i.e. political parties; pressure groups; and mass populace, are interrelated as well: religious pressure groups motivate and mobilize masses and influence their electoral behavior as they react to the political parties and their candidates during elections.<sup>11</sup>

Although voting behavior is the most common mode of expression of political behavior of the mass populace, however, political behavior is not confined only to it. There are a number of other ways through which citizens express their desires, aspirations and interest. One particular activity is the protest or agitation. Many inquiries conducted on the issue have found religious roots in this phenomenon – protest, as was the case with voting

behavior.<sup>12</sup> There are numerous examples from developed and developing countries where people do protest against various public policy and law-making matters on religious considerations, such as protests and mass movements against issues of abortion, same sex marriages, blasphemy, etc. Similarly another significant form of public political behavior, and even of more extreme nature, is 'political violence'. There are instances that religion or religious slogans were used to reject the government its policies. This tendency can intensify the sense of alienation from a political regime and can end in political violence and uprising against the regime ultimately.

Political actions on the part of citizens in the form of voting, protest or political violence, reflect the mass political culture. This point also extends the connection between religion and politics. For example to what extent religious considerations are associated with a particular political culture, is an interesting and relevant issue to be investigated. Generally the religious beliefs are closely and systematically associated with ideologies in the political sphere, for example religion and fundamentalism; religion and nationalism; religion and conservatism, etc.<sup>13</sup>

From the above discussion, it is learnt that devising public policy or making collective decisions for a group of people – politics, is a multidimensional and complex phenomenon. From the level of domestic politics to the level of international politics, and from the common citizens to the political leadership, the political system includes variety of elements subject to religious influence.

### **Religion:**

After having analyzed the term 'politics' now I will try to describe and explain the term 'religion', and will also analyze the characteristics of the term which in one way or the other involve the 'political sphere'. In an oversimplified attempt one can describe religion in terms of existing religions in the world – Islam, Christianity, Judaism, Buddhism, etc. However, there must be some particular features of the term which distinguish it from magic, superstition, and other 'isms' in the world like Socialism, fascism, etc. This notion leads us to explain and define the term 'religion' or 'religious experience' in a more specified manner. Religion is based on, and has three distinct themes and characteristics respectively: supremacy or transcendence, ultimacy and sacredness.<sup>14</sup>

Supremacy or transcendence of the religion means that it is associated with supernatural entity and reality i.e. man in this ordinary world is encountered with powers which are much greater than his own. In this sense 'religion' has a preeminent and supreme claim over the adherent or believer and his everyday life and social order. In this way it also extends to influence the 'political realm' especially when it comes to take collective decisions concerned to that social order. Hence, this characteristic of religion is interconnected to collective decision-making – politics.

The other feature of religion is sacredness i.e. it is distinct from the profane things. Analyzing religion from this approach demarcates it as a system of belief which invokes a sacred cover. The term religion is generally used to define a system that organizes the world in sacred manner. To the extent to that people use sacred for defining and organizing their world and lives, this also involves a correlation with political and social domain. The feeling of a supreme power which is evoked by 'the sacred' makes the believer to attempt to order 'the profane' (worldly affairs) in a manner consistent with those greater interdictions.<sup>15</sup>

Same is the case with the third characteristic or theme of 'religion', ultimacy. Religion articulates the basic values of society that address the very basis of the meaning through a sense of superior purpose and impact. Religion connects humans to the ultimate conditions of their existence. In this way, religion also commands and directs the lives of believers; it sets all other aspects of human existence underneath that ultimate concern.<sup>16</sup> Hence, politics, yet again, is made related to, and is endorsed by religion. However, by its very characteristics, religion also becomes subject to the exercise of political authority. Although these three important themes – supremacy, sacredness and ultimacy help us understand how religion and politics fit together, there is of course much more to it than that. It is true that belief is the central idea of religious experience, however, there are other important aspects too which need to be discussed and brought into the view in order to understand different ways in which religion is linked to 'political sphere'.

### **Link between politics and religion:**

Religion is a matter of personal experience, practice and action, for example rituals, offering prayers, etc. This makes religion 'visible', and this visibility can become entangled with the political realm.<sup>17</sup> One thinks, for example, offering prayer or performing some other religious practices of a political leader to invoke the support of God in connection with governmental action and policy, or mixing religious and political ideas while taking oath as an office-holder by politicians and civil servants.

It is common observation that religious ceremonies require the designation of certain buildings and places as sacred in which the religious activities are conducted such as mosques, temples, synagogues and churches, etc. Indeed, generally, this physical apparatus is equated with religion.<sup>18</sup> Here too, we can find its connection with political sphere. Conflicts surrounding Babri Mosque in Ayodhya, India, and Golden Temple at Amritsar, India are examples of this point. One can learn from these examples that the notion of 'sacred places' suggests the idea that religion does not only have meaning at the individual or spiritual level, but it also has a communal and corporate character like politics.

This is another level of relationship between religion and politics. Here this relationship necessitates the ideas of group solidarities and inter-group conflicts at the same time. Both solidarity and tension or conflict might have a religious factor which revolves around the shared or conflicting images of the sacred. Moreover, they also can acquire other elements, either economic, ethnic, or culture, etc. That is why the inter-group 'religious' tensions are very complex phenomena to be analyzed. Once again, this necessitates to understand the relationship between politics and religion in its proper socio-economic and cultural context.

In a community of believers we may find some sort of role differentiation or division of authority between common believers and those who take some distinctive position, as a prophet, priest, pastor or spiritual mentor. This role differentiation in Christianity, for example, has resulted in highly elaborated religious institution with several levels of authority and multiplicity of integral agencies.<sup>19</sup> This institutionalization makes the relationship between religious elements and political world very diversified and interesting. The Roman Catholic Church is a relevant example in this case, with concentration of power in the person of Pope and different organs of the Vatican state.

An important point needs to be taken into account here is that, as far as the relationship between religion and politics, in terms of impact of one on the other, is concerned, it's a two-way relationship: if on the one hand it is observed and analyzed that how religious

community, leaders and institutions influence power-politics, on the other hand various researches have been conducted on how political authority deals with religion.

A fundamental point here is that these linkages between religion and politics are of various kinds and they may change with the passage of time. In other words the relationship is of dynamic nature. In the following lines I have tried to explain and explore the pattern(s) of change in this connection:

### **Dynamic nature of relationship:**

In the above discussion we have made an assumption that politics and religion have their distinct spheres of meaning and action, at least theoretically. This notion is more relevant in the modern societies where the ideas of modernization and secularization have made politics separate from religion. However, this is not the case generally in traditional societies and cultures. In those societies religion and politics maintain a close link. In fact some religions and its adherents do not believe in the compartmentalization of the two, however, this dualism is common in the western societies.<sup>20</sup>

### **Traditional Societies:**

In traditional and pre-modern societies the relationship between politics and religion was one in which both were closely connected and integrated with each other. The practices and beliefs of religion established and entered into the core of political process, sustaining and backing the exercise of political authority. On the other hand religious sphere was also extended by political concerns. Both religion and politics formed one contiguous and interconnecting set of actions and beliefs. In that system religious considerations were part and parcel of the entire social and political life of individuals and society. For example, laws were based on the sacred texts as divine instructions, and the education was only religious in content and it was imparted by the religious or spiritual leaders.<sup>21</sup>

This pattern of the relationship between religion and politics applied to Buddhist and Hindu societies. In the West it was a basic feature in the medieval ages where the Roman Church was in authority. The ancient societies and tribal societies are also examples in this connection. However, this basic pattern had some variations depending upon formal institutional mechanism of particular polities and religions. One of the basic factors lay in whether the political power and religious power was exercised by the same leader or by different leaders. The Hindu culture and early Islamic polities are the examples of the former, where religious and political authority was exercised by the same leadership. On the other hand there was a 'church model' as well which is typical of the early arrangements of Buddhist and Christian institutions.<sup>22</sup> This system represented distinct political and religious structures controlled by complementary but different leaders. Where this differentiation took place, a wide array of power relationships between the two became evident: In some societies political authorities extended their control over religious structures and institutions; in some societies religious institutions created theocratic type of administration; and in some other societies both structures adopted the model of coexistence.

### **Modern Societies:**

In the modern world the situation regarding the integration of political and religious structures has changed to a great extent. This arrangement of the integrated model is mainly of significance as cultural and historical legacy. However, its reiteration and resonance can be found in present-day patterns. For example the Monarch, in England, is still the head of

state and Supreme Governor of the Church of England. Some still consider Christianity as a significant ingredient of political and social identity. Or for example in the recent past in Nepal King Birendra<sup>23</sup> was seen as incarnation of Vishnu<sup>24</sup> by traditional sector of the society.

Saudi Arabia is another example of the pattern. The alliance between a political leader Muhammad Ibn Saud and a religious activist Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahab resulted in the establishment of first Saudi state in eighteenth century. Contemporary Saudi Arabia too maintains the centrality of this religious factor in its state affairs and its constitution is not secular. Moreover, *Shariah*<sup>25</sup> is the basis of legal system. However, the case of Nepal and Saudi Arabia are exceptions. In most of the cases the substance of such arrangement has been diminished over the past century.

### Secularization:

The main factor that has contributed the most to this end is the process of secularization. Secularization is the basic and most significant ideological and structural change in the course of political development. However, the concept of secularization itself is controversial: some consider it as anti-religious and not neutral. Furthermore, the variety of meanings given to it by various authors adds more to the complexity of the concept. Some others criticize it for being defined as a linear process. Nevertheless, in spite of these problems with the term and concept of secularization it led to a trend whereby societies in the world have gradually shifted away from being focused around metaphysical and sacred. Hence it does suggest that religion has lost certain authority and power in society. And it also indicates that a transformation and change in the basic relationship between religion and politics has occurred.<sup>26</sup>

Some sense of the nature of transformation that this process involves can be witnessed if we distinguish some of its basic parts. Following are the constituent parts of 'secularization':<sup>27</sup>

- Ideological Secularization: it is the process by which fundamental values and belief-systems that are used to assess the political sphere and to give it meaning cease to be uttered in religious terms.
- Policy Secularization: it is the process by which the state ceases to control society on the basis of religious principles, and extends the public policy domains and service provisions of the state into the spheres which previously belonged to religion.
- Agenda Secularization: it is the process by which needs, problems and issues related to political process cease to have religious content, at least overtly, and by which solutions adopted to resolve those problems are no longer developed on the basis of religious criteria.
- Constitutional Secularization: it is the process by which the official character and objectives of the state cease to be couched in religious terms, and by which religious institutions cease to be conferred special constitutional status and support.
- Institutional Secularization: it is the process by which religious structures lose their political character and power as movements, interest groups or political parties.

In short secularization is a multidimensional and complex process in which political and religious spheres disentangle from each other. This results in further complications and tensions as the concept of political power is redefined and the religious sphere develops new

and distinct relationships with the state and society. Such complications and tensions are further intensified by other processes of development. For example, the politicization of the mass populace through the granting of adult franchise creates challenges to both political and religious leadership.<sup>28</sup> Improvement in the means of communication especially the mass media also challenges the conventional patterns of political and religious communication. Religious leaders as well as state institutions also face extensive problems of economic development and social change which threaten the already established power relationship.

Medhurst proposes three models representing various stages in the process of change in integrated polity. Through these models we can have an idea of what these changes involve. According to Medhurst, first is 'the confessional polity'. In this the political leaders do not cease to legitimate their rule in religious terms and continue with it, however, they do so, in a pluralistic frame of reference, by giving official propensity to one religious option. Similarly, religious leaders also try to get support against the threats to their authority. The anticipated result of this is to prevent the wave of pluralism and to conserve the traditional monistic pattern as much as possible. The contemporary examples of Iran and Colombia are relevant in this regard.<sup>29</sup>

Another model, according to Medhursts, is 'religiously neutral polity'. This pattern arises when the secularization process gets rid of religion as the main basis of political system. The religious forces are seen as one group among many others competing for political power. He further emphasizes that secularization does not remove or abolish religion from political realm. He views it a matter of religious groups finding themselves in a more politically pluralistic environment in which their specific programs and goals are given less recognition. Therefore, this is the stage where these religious forces transform into pressure groups or even political parties to preserve and uphold their interests.<sup>30</sup>

Third model, according to Medhurst, is 'the anti religious polity'. It reflects the active effort by the state to remove any religious presence within the political sphere. Furthermore, in most cases, the state even attempts to eliminate any noticeable public religious presence whatsoever. Polity and society in general are to be developed on the basis of materialism without any religious symbols and practices. However, these efforts to eradicate religion from society have failed so far. Although the historical pattern of the change suggests that religion will not regain the position of centrality like it had in pre-modern eras, but there is ample reason to believe that the interconnection between politics and religion has not and will not become vanished.<sup>31</sup>

### Conclusion:

Politics and religion do not continue to lose their mutual relationship and relevance even in modern liberal-democratic polities in the West. Hadden and Shupe have conducted an interesting study and proposed the idea of the 'cyclical theory of secularization'.<sup>32</sup> According to them the process of eliminating the sense of the sacred from polity and society has the tendency whereby religion is eventually invigorated and revived. They hold that secularized answers to the existence of *man* and purpose of *his* life are unsatisfying. They further argue that within new structures of patterns of belief, religion is finding fresh significance and power. This might be, according to them, a post-secular religion in a possibly post-secular culture.<sup>33</sup>

Time will prove whether or not these ideas withstand the test of history. There are instances of some forms of religion declining, and the movements of secularization are succeeding.



However, at the same time, there are a number of examples of religion's revival and growth, a resurrection that revitalizes the relationship between politics and religion. Rise of Islamic fundamentalism against secularized western values, victory of Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) in Algeria in 1992,<sup>34</sup> and victory of Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA) in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in 2002<sup>35</sup> are relevant contemporary examples. These instances suggest not an early breakup of religion and politics.

## EndNotes:

- <sup>1</sup> Peter H. Merkl (ed.), *Religion and Politics in the Modern World*, (New York: New York University Press, 1983), 3.
- <sup>2</sup> Ibid., 4.
- <sup>3</sup> D. Miller, 'Politics', in *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Political Thought*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987), 30.
- <sup>4</sup> See K. N. Medhurst and G. Moyser, *Church and Politics in Secular Age*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).
- <sup>5</sup> See K. W Underwood, *Protestant and Catholic: Religious and Social Interaction in an Industrial Community*, (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1956).
- <sup>6</sup> D. Robertson, *The Penguin Dictionary of Politics*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1986), 156.
- <sup>7</sup> See P. L. Benson and D.L. Williams, *Religion on Capitol Hill: Myths and Realities*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986).
- <sup>8</sup> D. Easton, "An Approach to the Analysis of Political Systems", *World Politics* 9, (1957): 382-400. Retrieved from [http://blog.lib.umn.edu/burn0277/\\_pa5012/readings/Easton%201965%20-%20An%20Approach%20to%20the%20Analysis%20of%20Political%20Systems.pdf](http://blog.lib.umn.edu/burn0277/_pa5012/readings/Easton%201965%20-%20An%20Approach%20to%20the%20Analysis%20of%20Political%20Systems.pdf), accessed on 01 June 2015.
- <sup>9</sup> Amr Sabet, Religion, "Politics and Social Change: A theoretical Framework", *Religion State and Society* 24, (1996): 41-69.
- <sup>10</sup> A. D. Hertzke, *Representing God in Washington: The Role of Religious Lobbies in American Polity*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 12.
- <sup>11</sup> Peter M. Butler, *Polling and Public Opinion*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 27.
- <sup>12</sup> J. Jenkins and B. Klandermans, *The Politics of Social Protest*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995).
- <sup>13</sup> K. D. Wald, *Religion and Politics in United States*, (New York, St. Martin's Press, 1987), Ch. 3.
- <sup>14</sup> W. G. Comstock et al (eds.), *Religion and Man: An Introduction*, (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), 21.
- <sup>15</sup> Peter L. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of Sociological Theory of Religion*, (New York: Mcmillan Publishing Company, 2011), 102
- <sup>16</sup> R. Bellah, "Transcendence in Contemporary Piety" in D. Cutler (ed.), *The Religious Situation*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969), 10.
- <sup>17</sup> Michael Winter, *Society and Religion in Early Ottoman Egypt*, (New York: Transaction Publishers, 2009), 45.
- <sup>18</sup> C. C. Pecknold, *Christianity and Politics: A Brief Guide to the History*, (Eugene: Wips and Stock Publishers, 2010), 92
- <sup>19</sup> Ibid., 114.
- <sup>20</sup> Eric O. Hanson, *Religion and Politics in the International System Today*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 24.

- <sup>21</sup> D. E. Smith, *Religion and Political Development*, (Boston: Little Brown, 1970), 6.
- <sup>22</sup> Ibid., 7.
- <sup>23</sup> King Birendra was the 11<sup>th</sup> king of Nepal and died in 2001.
- <sup>24</sup> Vishnu is a Hindu god who is also known as Hari and Narayana. He, in Hinduism, is described as having four hands.
- <sup>25</sup> Shariah is the Islamic legal system and is, primarily, derived from Qur'an (the basic text of Islam) and Hadith (teachings and sayings of the Holy Prophet PBUH).
- <sup>26</sup> Mark Chavez, "Secularization as Declining Religious Authority", *Social Forces* 72, no. 3, (March 1994): 749-774. Retrieved from [http://www.jstor.org/stable/2579779?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=political&searchText=and&searchText=religious&searchText=authority&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3Dpolitical%2Band%2Breligious%2Bauthority%26amp%3Bacc%3Doff%26amp%3Bwc%3Don%26amp%3Bfc%3Doff%26amp%3Bgroup%3Dnone&seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org/stable/2579779?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=political&searchText=and&searchText=religious&searchText=authority&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3Dpolitical%2Band%2Breligious%2Bauthority%26amp%3Bacc%3Doff%26amp%3Bwc%3Don%26amp%3Bfc%3Doff%26amp%3Bgroup%3Dnone&seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents), accessed on 02 June 2015.
- <sup>27</sup> Ingrid Creppell, "Secularisation: Religion and the Roots of Innovation in Political sphere" in Ira Katznelson and Gareth S. Jones (eds.), *Religion and the Political Imagination*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 27.
- <sup>28</sup> A. Filali-Ansary, "Challenge of Secularization", *Journal of Democracy* 7, no. 2, (1996): 76-80.
- <sup>29</sup> K. Medhurst, "Religion and Politics: A Typology", *Scottish Journal of Religious Studies* 2, (1981): 115-134.
- <sup>30</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>31</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>32</sup> Jeffery K. Hadden and Anson Shupe, *Prophetic Religions and Politics: Religion and Political Order*, (New York: Paragon House, 1986), 15.
- <sup>33</sup> Ibid., 17.
- <sup>34</sup> Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), called *al-Jabha al-Islamiyah lil-Inqadh* in Arabic, is an Islamist Political Party founded by Abbasi Madani in Algeria. The party won majority seats in the national legislative assembly in 1991-92 general elections.
- <sup>35</sup> Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA) was an alliance among Islamist parties during the general elections of 2002. The alliance formed government in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province, and remained in alliance with Pakistan Muslim League PML-Q in Baluchistan province from 2002 to 2007. Later part of this thesis discusses this in detail.